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VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS:

AN EXAMINATION OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN

EXPERIENCE AND PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

A Dissertation Presented

by

WILLIAM JOSEPH MOORE

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May, 1992

School of Education

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ABSTRACT

VOCATIONAL TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS:

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EXPERIENCE AND PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

MAY 1992

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This descriptive study presents strategies and recommendations that, if adopted and implemented effectively, can lead to a significant increase in the acknowledgment of the importance of vocational education in Massachusetts' Black communities, as well as lead to an increase in the number of minority youth expressing interest in vocational technical education. This will lead to prospects for change. A closer look will be taken at the quality of education being offered in various vocational technical schools and programs especially by minority parents, educators, and civic leaders. The pressure for quality in vocational education will be very great in Massachusetts' Black communities; this means that educators, civic leaders, and parents will begin to ask more and harder questions

regarding decisionmaking, allocation and use of resources, and the quality and profile of the teaching profession in vocational technical education in Massachusetts.

An important expectation to be noted here, based on what some union officials have stated about vocational education and Blacks, is that the union community wants to cooperate with minority leaders and parents who are seeking to make vocational education work for their youth.

This study began with the theme that vocational technical education can be a creative and exciting "public policy glue" tying together demography, the economic needs of Massachusetts, and the educational needs of Black communities. It raised the awareness of the importance of vocational education in minority communities through various forums and meetings; it brought together a network of individuals and organizations which could be the basis of renewed interest and attention to the role that vocational education can play in the economic development of minority communities, and in the improvement of the quality and relevance of education in these communities. Finally, the study resulted in several concrete strategies and recommendations which, if implemented effectively, could lay the foundation necessary to guarantee a significant presence of Blacks in the world of vocational education in Massachusetts.

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C H A P T E R I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This study is the result of several statewide forums, interviews, and meetings (both formal and informal) among educators interested in improving the vocational education experiences of Black students. The participants in these forums included concerned members of the community as well as educators and civic leaders. The specific purpose for these meetings was to address the growing concern with the problem of school to work transition and the high rate of school dropouts in Massachusetts' Black communities.

The 1990 United States census data shows a total population in Massachusetts of 6,013,000: 5,405,000 White; 300,000 Black; 143,000 Asian; and 288,000 Hispanic (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). The year 2000 census projection for Boston shows a total population of 562,994, of which Blacks will represent 22.5 percent and Hispanics will represent 6.5 percent. Springfield (Massachusetts) shows a total population of 152,319, of which Blacks will represent 16.6 percent and Hispanics will represent 9.1 percent; while Lawrence (Massachusetts) shows a total population of 63,175. Blacks will represent

2.3 percent and Hispanics will represent 16.3 percent (Winer & Foley, 1989).

Concerns about transitional and retention problems have been raised by Black leaders at both the national and local levels. Because vocationally-related efforts are key elements of most dropout prevention related efforts, these educators, community members, and civic leaders proposed to explore the potential that vocational education has for the amelioration of these issues.

The report, Employment 2000: Massachusetts Employment Projections by Occupation, indicates that the State's economy will develop nearly one-half million employment opportunities over the next ten years (Winer & Foley, 1989). This number represents a projected 15.6 percent increase through the year 2000, and it will not be equally distributed across major industry and employment groups. As has been the case throughout the decade of the 1970s, over 50 percent of all new jobs will be found in service industries and high tech related business. "These industries alone will employ 47.4 percent of the total projected growth in managerial and technical occupations. Although production jobs will decline, manufacturing's managerial, professional, and technical employment will increase to 16 percent, producing over 24,000 new employment opportunities" (Winer & Foley, 1989).

The report states that of all the new jobs projected to be created over this period, more than one-half will require secondary and postsecondary training (Winer & Foley, 1989). Employment in jobs requiring less education will slow or decline as office and factory automation increases. Presently, about 26 percent of all state job holders have a college degree. With 48 percent of all new jobs in Massachusetts projected to be in managerial and professional occupational groups, categories where 61 percent of all job holders have had four or more years of postsecondary training, jobs for college graduates will be numerous (Winer & Foley, 1989).

These projected occupation changes will present a difficult challenge for high school dropouts. A 1988 study of the Massachusetts Department of Education, Massachusetts Dropout Report for 1986-87, shows White high school students comprising almost 75 percent of all dropouts. As a race, their dropout rate is 4.4 percent slightly below the statewide average. Dropout rates for minority students are higher: 15 percent for Hispanics, 10.6 percent for Blacks, 9.3 percent for Native Americans, and 6.3 percent for Asians. As low-skilled jobs decline, new entrants to the labor force, without a high school diploma, will experience employment difficulties.

The August, 1991, edition of the U. S. Department of Labor's Monthly Labor Review reports, "Business failures

and plant closing between 1979 and 1986 displaced relatively more Black workers than White, and Blacks experienced longer periods of unemployment." The report stated that "10.5 percent of the Black work force was displaced during this time, compared to 8.3 percent of the White work force" (Vocational Education Journal, 1991, November/December).

Education and flexibility, as well as computer literacy, will be key to the new labor market. In order to remain competitive in the global economy, the United States must remain committed to building a highly-trained work force. According to the Massachusetts Department of Employment and Training, in today's labor market, 26 percent of all workers, age 25 to 54, have had at least four years of college and 20 percent have had none to three years of college. Further, with nearly half of all workers having some college training, education really does matter in today's market. Regardless of whether an occupation is developing and producing new jobs, the jobs created between now and the end of the year 2000 will require more education. Technology is playing a major role in defining and redefining job requirements. At the same time that it lessens the need for semi-skilled workers, it increases the need for highly-skilled and well-educated workers to meet these challenges (Winer & Foley, 1989). Vocational technical education is important and will be a key factor

in establishing who will be best able to benefit from the jobs projected to be developed over the next ten years.

Just about all official statistics relating to mortality, health, income, education, and marital status reveal Black youth emerging as one of the most troubled segments of American society. Their worsening conditions foreshadow a long-term economic and social disaster for the Black-American family in the future. Many feel that not since the Civil War has so much calamity and ongoing catastrophe been visited on Black males. Studies indicate that only a small percentage of classroom teachers in this country are Black men, and fewer are in the freshman classes of our teacher training schools (Heath-Camp & Camp, 1991). Thus, young Black males encounter few or no Black male role models either at home or in school, and future prospects are grim.

Of all the problems confronting young Black men, homicide and incarceration are perhaps the most visible. According to the National Urban League, soaring murder rates are the most dramatic effect of these societal problems (Hare, 1988). For instance, among Washington's record 372 murders in 1988, 351 of the victims were Black and 235 of them were males, age 15 to 34. More recently, Oakland, California, with 67 killings thus far this year, seems for sure to surpass the 1991 record homicides, which made its rate the highest among large California cities.

With even a higher per capita rate than Los Angeles, half the population of Washington, D. C., it is 43 percent Black, 28 percent White, 14 percent Asian, and 14 percent Hispanic. Its statistics are dominated by Black men who account for 121 victims (73.3 percent) and the majority of those suspected of homicides (California State Census Data Center, 1991). While the 1990 census data of the United States reveal that Blacks account for 12 percent of the population in the United States, data show that they account for 46 percent of the nation's prisoners. Nine out of ten Black inmates are men and 54 percent of them are under 29 years of age.

The relationship between education and crime is particularly striking, according to a study commissioned by the U. S. Department of Education and the Bureau of the Census (1986). Eighty-two percent of the prisoners in the United States are high school dropouts. The study suggests that efforts in education are very likely to lower imprisonment rates. Take the examples of two states: Florida leads the nation in high school dropouts and in prisoners per 100,000 populations; while Minnesota is fiftieth in dropouts and forty-ninth in prisoners.

The cost to our nation is also a factor. Data from the U. S. Bureau of Justice Statistics (1991) indicate that it costs about \$20,000 a year to maintain a prisoner. A college student or a headstart pre-school program enrollee

cost much less per year to finance than that of maintaining a prisoner.

According to U. S. Census data, Black teenagers have the highest unemployment rates among all component groups in both the Black and White populations. The unemployment rates of Black youth doubled or tripled those of White youth between 1979 and 1987, while the jobless rates for White teenagers remained fairly stable, ranging from a high of 20.4 percent in 1982 (the end of the last recession) to 14.4 percent in 1987. In 1983, Black teenage unemployment reached 48.5 percent, 31 percentage points higher than that for White teenagers (19.3 percent). However, in 1987, Black teenagers had the lowest level (34.7 percent) since the 1979 recession. Many educators and concerned politicians see vocational education as a way of alleviating problems and effecting significant change in this population (U. S. Department of Commerce, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1990).

According to Wetzel (1989), a statistical snapshot of the nation's new workers includes:

- Eighty-six percent of young adults are high school graduates;
- Twenty-two percent have completed four or more years of college;
- The nation's youth population began to shrink in 1980;

- Young now constitute 15 percent of the total population, down from 18.8 percent in 1980; it will reach a low of 13.5 percent in 1995;
- By the mid-1990s, 30 percent of the nation's youth will be from minority groups, a one-third increase over 1980;
- By mid-1990s, 15 percent of all youth will be Black; 12 percent Hispanic; 4.5 percent Native American, Asian and Pacific Islander.
- By 1980, almost one out of every 20 American youths was foreign born;
- Fifty-six percent of Black youth live in central cities; 23 percent in suburbs;
- Substantial majority of nation's students combine school with work; in 1988, 75 percent of all 16- to 19-year-olds were students, of whom 45 percent were also in the labor force;
- Overall gains in educational attainment of the past two decades have occurred almost entirely among women;
- Today, youth enter the labor market earlier; most combine school with work; many more are from single-parent families; a significant number of minorities are single-parents themselves.

Purpose of the Study

This study examines the potential of vocational education to address employment and related problems which emerge within a large minority community. The major goal of the study is to determine the interest in and approach to vocational education on the part of leaders, activists, and parents in the Black community in Massachusetts. The issue was addressed at several statewide forums, interviews, and meetings (both formal and informal) among educators interested in improving the vocational education experiences of Black students. The participants in these forums included concerned members of the community, as well as educators and civic leaders.

The consultative process was designed to gauge responses to the twin problems of education and unemployment in the minority communities and to devise strategies to address the problems identified. Those strategies involve the following critical components:

- A focused attempt to match demographic developments and the economic needs of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts;
- A closer examination and implementation of pedagogical innovation and creativity at the secondary school level;

- An integrated effort to increase public awareness about vocational education in the minority community and the related complex of social, economic, and educational problems;
- A related effort to increase public awareness of the potential of vocational education for meaningful public policy action.

Educators and civic leaders generally believe that vocational education might well be the "public policy glue" to hold education and the economy together while promoting an effective and broad-based strategy against the twin problems of poor education and unemployment in Black communities.

Five major goals of this study are to:

- (1) Provide various public forums for minority leaders and parents to explore the potential of vocational education in Massachusetts as an employment preparation and education tool for responding to Black youth unemployment and high school dropout rates;
- (2) Discuss the various concerns and issues identified by the Advisory Committee and others which may prevent educators and

parents in Black communities from either accepting or feeling comfortable with the notion that vocational education could have a major impact on the economic and educational development of their communities;

- (3) Raise the concerns of minority leaders and parents with representatives of vocational education programs and apprenticeship programs;
- (4) Assist the State Department of Education and the vocational education schools to explore community and institution-based strategies in vocational education programs and schools; and
- (5) Strengthen the network of minority administrators, counselors, teachers, and educators in the area of vocational education in Massachusetts. The outcome formed the basis for this study.

The following specific questions were raised at the public forums:

- (1) How do Blacks perceive vocational education?

- (2) How do educators, community members, and civic leaders view demographic changes in the future effecting the Black work force in their community? How can vocational education address these issues?
- (3) What current educational approaches encourage students to remain in school and take advantage of vocational education offerings? What additional approaches might effectively encourage Black students to remain in school and take advantage of vocational education opportunities?
- (4) How can community awareness regarding vocational education opportunities in the public school system be increased among parents, community members, civic leaders, students, and prospective employers?
- (5) In what ways can the network of minority administrators, counselors, teachers, and educators in the area of vocational education be strengthened?

Significance of the Study

An examination of minority perceptions can be expected to help in the design of strategies to more effectively utilize the vocational education system within the minority community.

This particular study is significant because it represents the only systematic exploration to date of the problems Black minorities face in gaining access to vocational education programs in Massachusetts, which in turn has bearing on the ability of these citizens to acquire jobs that can provide a better future.

Delimitations of the Study

This study will focus on community perceptions of the role and potential of technical vocational education within a Black urban community in Massachusetts. The information developed will be based on the discussions and the insights provided by a wide spectrum of community and agency representatives who are directly or indirectly involved with vocational education as it functions in the context of the community.

It should be emphasized that the study is not intended to evaluate how specific vocational education programs operate. Testing is not involved. The administration, teaching, counseling, or operation of vocational education

programs of schools are not the prime focus of this study. The researcher intentionally avoided defining their goals and objectives in any way that might suggest an evaluation.

Organization of the Study

The dissertation will consist of five chapters. Chapter I provides an introduction, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, significance of the study, delimitations of the study, organization of the study, and definition of terms.

Chapter II reviews the character of vocational education.

Chapter III presents the sociological rationale for vocational education for Black youth, delineates the approach, and explains the methodology and goals of the study.

Chapter IV addresses the issue of racial barriers in vocational education programs in Massachusetts.

Chapter V details minority groups' perceptions of vocational education. It discusses its impact, as well as presents some reflections on the meaning of vocational education for minorities. In addition, the chapter presents concluding observations, recommendations for the future of vocational education for minorities, as well as

recommendations for improving vocational education programs that affect African-American students.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions of terms give direction to the study (Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1990, August 24); Massachusetts Department of Education, 1989b):

Apprentice: A person of legal working age who is employed to learn a skilled trade, under standards of apprenticeship agreement as specified.

Apprenticeship Program: A formal system of directed employment connected training and instruction in an apprenticeship occupation.

Articulation: The educational process whereby curricular interaction occurs across grade levels and links programs between educational levels.

Industrial Education: Vocational education fitting Blacks for trades, crafts, and manufacturing pursuits.

Nontraditional Programs: A vocational technical program which attempts to reflect equal representation of female and male students.

Carl D. Perkins Act of 1984-1991: The principal federal program aiding states in providing vocational

education programs for persons at the secondary and post-secondary and adult levels.

Practical Arts Education: A separate day or a separate evening class in household and other practical arts.

Service Occupation: A program of vocational technical education to prepare students for occupations involving the manufacturing or fabrication of products in either heavy or light industry.

Technology: A program of vocational technical education to prepare students for occupations in electronics, drafting, computers, electromechanical, graphic arts, and commercial arts.

Tech Prep: Designed to work similarly to traditional college prep programs, secondary students with an aptitude or interest in pursuing advanced technical training are placed in programs that prepare them for more advanced training at the community college after high school graduation.

Vocational Education: Education of which the primary purpose is to fit students for profitable employment.

Vocational Technical Education: The approved type of education, purposefully designed to educate and prepare students of all ages for employment and continuing academic and occupation preparation through a balance of classroom instruction, supportive services, and occupational

experience to develop lifelong skills; upon completion of vocational technical programs, students are qualified to pursue, directly or indirectly, opportunities emanating from such vocational technical programs.

C H A P T E R I I

THE CHARACTER OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Overview of the Status of Vocational Education

The American Vocational Association's Fact Sheet: Vocational Education Today (1987) describes vocational education as a unique group of programs developed to prepare students with occupational and employment skills. Through the skillful selection of programs of study, students are able to explore employment. They can prepare for specific careers and upgrade knowledge as job requirements change.

Vocational education is an important element of the American public school system. It represents a joint federal, state, and local linkage developed to meet our nation's goals for a competent work force.

The American Vocational Association (1987) states that 16 million students, representing a cross section of society, are enrolled in vocational education programs. Enrollments are almost evenly divided among male (47.4 percent) and female (47.8 percent) students. Minority students are 22.5 percent of the total enrollment in vocational education. Nearly 60 percent (9.3 million) are enrolled in secondary programs and 40 percent are enrolled in postsecondary programs. Ninety-five percent of all

high school graduates take at least one vocational course, according to a recent U. S. Department of Education study (American Vocational Association, 1987).

Vocational programs are organized into two major categories: general vocational education programs and occupational-specific programs. About 65 percent of the students participate in general programs, while the rest are in employment preparation programs. Vocational education embraces numerous programs which fall into eight major areas of study: agriculture, business education, health occupations, home economics, industrial arts, marketing education, technical education, and trade and industrial education (American Vocational Association, 1987).

In general, vocational courses are more complex than the courses offered by other components of education because they combine classroom instruction, laboratory work, and work site learning. Furthermore, classroom instruction centers on real-life problems, which means that on-the-job training experiences are a key element of instruction. This approach enables vocational student organizations to provide students with leadership skills and to instill a positive work ethic.

The success of these educational programs depends on a close relationship with the community, business, industry, and labor. Advisory groups exist at all levels.

Established by Federal law, the National Council on Vocational Education consults the President, Congress, and the Secretary of Education. All state councils on vocational education work to strengthen their individual state programs and advise the state board of vocational education, the governor, the business community, and the general public on policies. State technical committees advise the state councils and boards of vocational education on the development of curricula directed at the state's labor market requirements.

Vocational education programs depend on a group of Government appropriations for their existence. Congress has budgeted nearly \$1.6 billion for vocational education programs (Wilcox, 1991b). More than 26,000 institutions offer vocational programs. At the secondary level, vocational education takes place mainly in general and comprehensive high schools, but it also occurs to some extent in secondary area vocational centers. At the postsecondary level, vocational education occurs in regional vocational schools, community colleges, and technical training institutions, all of which grant degrees (American Vocational Association, 1987).

The Growth of Vocational Education in Massachusetts

According to the Massachusetts Department of Education, historical background on the State's involvement

in vocational education has been shaped by several major developments since the turn of the century. "In 1905, Governor William E. Douglas approved a resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature creating a Commission on Industrial and Technical Education and recommended the creation of a system of vocational schools across the state. This was the 'birth' of the first state system of vocational education in the country." In 1917, the Smith-Hughes Act was passed by the U. S. Congress establishing a federal presence with funding and direction (Massachusetts Department of Education, 1989b).

During the period 1955-1973, Massachusetts established fifteen community colleges. These institutions concentrated initially on academic and general courses. However, the past few decades has seen an increase in career and occupational preparation programs at these institutions. A new development which promises to clear a direction from school to work is the "tech-prep" program of study. These programs connect the last two years of high school study with a two-year program of study in a technical subject area in one of the State's community colleges.

A Brief Legislative History of Federal Involvement in Vocational Education

The Federal government became involved in the early 1900s due to concern on the part of industry that a skilled work force was needed for the growth of the economy. The

Douglas Commission in 1905 first determined that it was a better investment to provide job training than to employ child labor. In 1907, the American Federation of Labor commissioned a study which concluded that Federal legislation would be needed to provide for the education of industry workers and to meet employment needs. As a result of these studies, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 provided a grant in perpetuity for the specific program areas of agriculture, trade and industry, and home economics. Twelve supplementary and related acts were passed by Congress during the thirty-year period between 1917 and 1947. The George-Baden Act of 1946 differed from earlier acts in that it provided one authorization for each service field and allowed Federal funds to be used for maintenance of administration and supervision. Funding for specific program areas dominated Federal involvement into the 1960s when the country became more inclined to providing for the special needs populations. Education Amendments of 1976 consolidated vocational education programs into a two-part state grant and authorized certain career education and career development activities.

The Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1984 places emphasis on upgrading the quality of vocational education programs and providing greater access to those programs for all. The Act is the principal Federal program aiding states in providing vocational education

programs for persons at the secondary, postsecondary, and adult levels. It was enacted in 1984, and replaced the Vocational Education Act of 1963. It authorized programs through fiscal year 1989. It uses basic state grants as a means of encouraging states to expand and improve their programs. This legislation also establishes the National Council on Vocational Education, and defines research objectives for the U. S. Department of Education. Several demonstration programs, data systems for vocational education and occupational information, and a bilingual vocational training program are also authorized (U. S. Congress, Committee on Education and Labor, Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education, 1988).

Early Development of Vocational Education in the Black Education Experience

It is often forgotten that vocational education played a fundamental role in the early development of education programs for Black-Americans (Anderson, 1988). This is easily forgotten today when we consider, for instance, the relatively successful growth in recent years of the Black-American professional and business sectors. Blacks were 11.7 percent of the country's population in 1990 (29,986,060). Though disproportionately represented among the American poor (30 percent), Black-Americans experienced

significant upward mobility between 1960 and 1990 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1991). The number of Blacks finishing high school doubled in the last few decades, while Blacks entering higher educational institutions increased from 600,000 to over 1,100,000 (U. S. Department of Education, 1987). The number of Blacks entering the science, engineering, medical, and legal professions more than doubled during this same period. No area of human activity is now closed to Blacks. In 1983, a Black-American astronaut traveled in space; and in 1984, a Black man campaigned for the Democratic party nomination for president.

Black-owned businesses grew from 185,000 to 235,000 (Graves, 1990). Although most are small businesses, some major corporations are owned and controlled by Blacks and they are thriving. According to Graves (1990), Johnson Publishing Company of Chicago reported sales of \$139 million in 1984, Motown Industries of Los Angeles had \$137 million in sales, and the H. J. Russell Construction Company of Atlanta claimed \$105 million in sales.

Politically, Blacks are also making great strides. As of January, 1990, 7,370 (more than five times the number of 1970) of the approximately 500,000 elected officials in the United States were Black (Graves, 1990). This number included the mayors of such large cities as Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Richmond, Atlanta, Detroit, and

the capital of the nation, Washington, D. C. Whereas in 1970, only a few of the fifty Black mayors governed cities that were home to more than 50,000 people, today this is true for thirty-three of the nation's largest cities, a trend underscored by the election of David Dinkins as Mayor of New York City.

Blacks have a long history and tradition of participation in American vocational education. For them, it started in the form of apprenticeship programs for slaves, as manual labor training schools for slaves began to appear in many parts of the South during the 1830s (Anderson, 1988). After slavery, a few private industrial colleges, such as Tuskegee Institute and Hampton Institute, were founded. Frederick Douglass strongly advocated increasing Black participation in vocational and industrial education throughout this same period. By the 1880s, manual training programs for Blacks were found in many private colleges and universities (Anderson, 1988).

In addition to the problem of gaining access to schooling for Blacks after the Civil War, Black educators confronted the problem of determining what kind of education would be best for Black students once they did get to school. The dominant theme was that education ought to be practical so that Black children could become self-reliant, get jobs, and advance themselves and their race. It was a time rich in economic growth and plentiful in jobs.

However, industrial education for Blacks would become much more controversial in the coming decades. Slavery was abolished in law but was replaced by the "Black codes" of the South which enforced Jim Crow Laws upon free Blacks in many realms of life, especially education and work (Woodward, 1957).

Even before the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which freed three million slaves in the Southern states, a few Southern religious and philanthropic organizations mobilized to bring education to the emancipated men and women of the South. In 1861, the American Missionary Association (AMA), a Baptist organization, sent teachers to southern regions controlled by the Union Army. By 1864, there were 500 teachers in the South under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. The association founded Berea College, Hampton Institute, Fisk University, LeMoyne College, Talladega College, and Tougaloo College. "The AMA civilizing mission" demanded permanent institutions of higher education that could educate exceptional Blacks.

In general, a very interesting debate was taking place in the South in regard to the manual training of Blacks. The issue was what kind of education would be most appropriate in view of the failure of Radical Reconstruction to promote integrated public school systems in the South. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder

of Hampton Institute and a prominent humanitarian, put forth a great effort on behalf of skills and values offered by "industrial education". These skills and values would prepare Blacks for the only kinds of jobs that would be available to them in segregated, society-skilled trades on farms and in the cities. "Armstrong maintained that of the eight million or more Blacks, a large . . . are a low-down shiftless class . . . lazy, living from hand to mouth . . . grossly immoral." The majority of the others, he believed, had not internalized the right attitudes toward work. Hence, the Negroes who are to form the working classes of the South must be taught not only to do their work well, but to do their work means (Anderson, 1988).

The debate continued. Booker T. Washington was a prominent proponent of "industrial education," as were his upper-class White financial backers in foundations like Rockefeller and Rosenwald, who heavily funded Washington's Tuskegee Institute. They viewed Negro industrial training as the educational method to promote social and political order. Washington was willing to ignore the political and juridical implications of a separate racial education track for Blacks, as long as his model for vocational education gained White financial backing.

On the other hand, some Black leaders took a very different perspective on this issue. They protested

such undue emphasis on vocational education for Blacks; they also protested manual training for Whites. The difference was that one case smacked of race inequality and the other smacked of class inequality. They believed that Black-Americans also needed the same kind of intellectual education that was available for Whites. W. E. B. DuBois also attacked Booker T. Washington for accepting second-class citizenship and for promulgating a second-class type of education. "One of his principal quarrels with Booker T. Washington was over the type of education Negroes should aspire to--industrial or liberal arts" (Wilson, 1970). He moved vigorously for an intellectually rigorous education that would train a class of Black leaders for a drive to break the bonds of inequality and segregation. He wanted to produce enough Black professionals and teachers to make up what he, in theory, called the "talented tenth," under which the privileged members of the race should devote their talents to racial uplift (Wilson, 1970). For DuBois, this sector was required of any civilized modern society.

Nonetheless, DuBois agreed with Washington's basic argument, that vocational skills tended to dignify everyday labor. He understood the benefit of manual training and trade teaching for Black boys as well as White. But ultimately that was not enough. Like White humanitarian reformers, DuBois began to worry about the single-minded

intentions of industrialists whose aristocratic beliefs presumed a hierarchically stratified society, for DuBois knew what race was assumed to remain at the bottom.

C H A P T E R III

THE SOCIOLOGICAL RATIONALE FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR POOR BLACK YOUTH

Methodology

This study focuses on community perceptions and developing information based on discussions and the insights provided by a wide spectrum of community and agency people who are directly or indirectly involved with vocational education as it functions in the context of the community. The methodology of this study included participant observation as well as interviews and structured focus groups.

Participant observation techniques were used skillfully by Kenneth B. Clark in 1962 to study the conditions of Black youth in Harlem, a section of New York City, as background for a comprehensive employment program. The Clark study resulted in the publication of Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change (Clark, 1962). Clark describes his research role as that of an "involved observer," a position not easy to describe because it is mainly intuitive. The posture of "involved observer" requires an element of objectivity or of functioning as a "disinterested observer". But this disinterested posture is difficult to maintain when one is a participant in the community being

studied, so much personal vigilance is required on the part of the analyst or researcher in order to assure objectivity.

This method of study has much in common with the more traditional methods of a "participant observer" and the methods of the cultural anthropologist, who lives with primitive peoples in order to understand and describe their customs, their mores, and their total culture. All such methods require the observer to be a part of what is being observed, to join in the lives of the people while at the same time seeking to understand them and the forces which mold them.

In 1962-1963, Elliot Liebow used participant observation methodology for the research project on "Child Rearing Practices Among Low-Income Families in the District of Columbia" (Liebow, 1962). The project used this methodology rather than questionnaires or structured interviews to gain clear, firsthand views of lower-class Negro men--especially "street-corner" Negroes. The project by design had "no firm presumptions of what was or was not relevant. In this sense, there was no detailed research design; the intention was frankly exploratory" (Liebow, 1967). Liebow's (1967) work, which resulted in the book Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Street-Corner Men, and Kenneth B. Clark's (1965) book, entitled Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, are related in methodology to

William Foote Whyte's (1955) sociological classic, Street Corner Society, and also to Lee Rainwater's (1970) Crucible of Identity: The Negro Lower Class Family.

Furthermore, in a sense Bruno Bettelheim and Viktor E. Frankl were involved observers who employed their skill and training to provide a great deal of understanding to the nature of horror and barbarity of German concentration camps. These talents are described in Bettelheim's (1943) article, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," and in Frankl's (1962) book, Man's Search for Meaning.

This study also used the qualitative approach to carefully planned focus group discussion, designed to obtain qualitative data regarding perceptions of vocational education held by members of minority communities in a socially-oriented, permissive, non-threatening social environment. Historically, using focus groups emerged in the 1930s, at which time social scientists, playing a less directive and dominating role, began investigating the values of non-directive, individual interviewing as an improved source of gathering information.

The general guidelines for planning this study's focus group discussions were modeled after the work of David L. Morgan and Richard A. Krueger (1988). These researchers observed that often questions asked in a focused interview are deceptively simple. They are the

kinds of questions an individual could respond to in a few minutes. However, when questions are presented in a group environment and nourished by skillful probing, the results are candid portraits.

Design of the Study

This study used a series of meetings to sponsor discussions which would begin to focus on efforts to attract and recruit young minority students into vocational education programs, as well as to place minority youngsters into jobs available as a result of the construction boom in some Massachusetts towns and cities, particularly Boston.

Prior to these meetings, visits were made to the following places to review programs: District of Columbia Public Schools, Washington, D. C.; Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida; and the National Association for the Advancement of Blacks in Vocational Education, Little Rock, Arkansas. Within Massachusetts, various vocational education personnel at the state and local level were interviewed in preparation for these meetings. Additionally, the study team visited several vocational education programs throughout the State. Research literature on vocational education was surveyed, as was the available and germane public agency literature.

The study team also prepared a folder which included all articles published on vocational education in The Boston Globe between 1980 and 1987. This was a useful resource tool to prepare participants for the various meetings they would be attending (see Appendix A)

During the school year 1988-1989, four statewide meetings were held which brought together Advisory Board Members (see Appendix B) and study participants concerned with enhancing vocational education opportunities in the minority communities. Three major conferences and smaller focus groups were held at the Downtown Campus of the University of Massachusetts at Boston; Philosophy of Education Resource Center, Harvard University, Cambridge; Hubert Humphrey Occupational Resource Center, Boston; Benjamin Franklin Technical Institute, Boston; Regional Technical High School, Lawrence; and Springfield Technical Community College.

These conferences brought together representatives of labor, vocational education, community agencies, public schools, universities, government, and the private sector. More than 300 persons and organizations participated actively in the meetings sponsored by the study (see Appendix C).

During the conferences and focus groups, data were gathered using the methods described. After the

conferences, the meetings and information exchanged were reviewed and analyzed. All proceedings were reviewed to identify and classify the major concerns, priorities, and recommendations raised and discussed by participants.

C H A P T E R I V

RACIAL BARRIERS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN MASSACHUSETTS

General Concerns and Complaints

Many participants indicated concern about the low level of accessibility available to minority populations to enter vocational education. This included concern not only by Blacks but also by Latinos and Asian-descent people. Some discussion focused on the barriers that were perceived between potential minority students and top-notch vocational education schools across Massachusetts.

There was, moreover, much concern expressed regarding signs that minority youth are not taking full advantage of the vocational education opportunities available in Boston. A general perception held by many participants was that vocational education schools outside of Boston seem to have better facilities and more resources. This perception was generated by the visits several participants made to vocational education schools outside Boston. Places outside this city, such as Lawrence and Springfield, seem to be making much better progress in attracting Black youngsters into vocational education. Some participants and several legislators observed that the vocational education schools outside Boston seem to be better maintained; they appeared

to be more "exciting" and conducive to "turning kids on to learning." This concern raised questions regarding the statewide distribution of resources under vocational education. Data were shared and discussed which showed that the per pupil allocation of dollars for vocational education was much higher for Boston's Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center than for any other regional vocational education school in Massachusetts.

As a result of frustration regarding the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center's perceived inability to make vocational education "work", as one person stated, a question continually raised involved the possibility of Boston's minority youngsters being able to participate in vocational education programs outside of this city. Some participants suggested adopting the approach currently utilized by the METCO program, one which involves busing students to outlying areas, in order to enhance vocational education opportunities for minority youngsters in Boston. Others felt, however, that this would not be feasible in terms of the resources or commitment to meet the costs of such an approach. And others argued that busing minority youngsters outside of Boston to vocational education programs represented a sort of "cop-out" and would also lessen pressure on the Boston School System to provide better quality of vocational education programs.

There was also much concern about an apparent under-utilization of vocational education opportunities by underserved and older sectors in minority communities. Given the proportion of Blacks and Latinos in Boston, this seems to be an acute problem in the city with negative economic and social implications.

The Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational
Resource Center and Black Parents

A few reports, and much anecdotal information, point to a problem of matching minority populations with the vocational education opportunities available in Boston. Expressed as a major concern was the apparent drop in enrollment at the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center at a time when the city is realizing an explosion of job opportunities in the construction trades. Several reasons were suggested for this lack of interest, including parental attitudes discouraging minority youngsters from even thinking of the possibility of vocational education. Many participants felt that this may be the case due to a perceived problem on the part of minority parents and educators with regard to the quality of vocational education opportunities available at this institution. It was pointed out that in many ways vocational education in Boston has been used as a dumping ground for minority students, encouraging a bias against vocational education

on the part of minority parents. But apparently these attitudes are not based on an elitist conception of education; rather, they are based on the absence of evidence showing that vocational education in Boston is effective for minority students.

Charles H. Buzzell (1991), Executive Director of the American Vocational Association, reports that "minority parents especially may feel that Vocational Education is a dead end or dumping place for students. They may say, 'My kid is not going to be a bricklayer or work in dirty overalls, but is going to be a doctor and is going to wear a tie and a shirt to work.' To the contrary, we can show that vocational education most definitely is not a dead end" (Buzzell, 1991).

Thus, the bias perceived by minority parents is not a cause of low minority enrollment in vocational education, but instead a symptom of perceived low-quality and low-priority education. This may suggest that the problem of negative minority attitudes is not as critical an issue as is assumed by some in this area.

The quality of vocational education programs is the critical factor considered by minority parents and youth in deciding whether or not to participate in vocational education. As a matter of fact, during the discussions of the study, seven current and former Black elected officials strongly endorsed the expansion of vocational education

opportunities in minority communities if it reflected quality and preparation for available decent-paying jobs in the economy. The only caveat offered by many minority participants was that quality vocational education should not be the only available channel for economic mobility for minority youth.

It is useful to observe here that the Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990, signed into law by President George Bush last September, marks the largest-ever Federal funding authorization for vocational education. The reauthorized Perkins Act went into effect July 1, 1991.

"The law, which amended and extended for five years the original Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act of 1984, authorizes the United States government to spend up to \$1.6 billion a year on state and local programs that teach the 'skill competencies necessary to work in a technologically advanced society.' . . . The new Perkins Act will require states to be much more accountable for their vocational programs. States must be able to show that disadvantaged people have the chance for full and equitable participation in vocational education programs" (Wilcox, 1991). Most new work force entrants will come from groups that traditionally lack vocational educational opportunities. To prepare this group for work, high-quality vocational education opportunities must be made more easily

available to the groups targeted by the Carl D. Perkins Act of 1991 (Jennings, 1991).

Several discussions pointed out that some unions have expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of training of students at the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center. In fact, several union representatives have publicly criticized the quality of education and training available at this school. Other commentary focused on a charge of lack of support for quality vocational education on the part of the leadership in Boston. Whether or not justified by actual data, major disappointment was expressed at the perceived inability of the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center to achieve its potential for having a positive educational and economic impact on the Black and Latino communities and the City of Boston. Frustration was expressed by participants at the lack of attention paid to the potential of vocational education in Boston. At other times, anger was expressed in some meetings and interviews regarding a perceived recalcitrance on the part of individuals responsible for administering the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center.

Another line of discussion suggested that the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center is "out of touch" with the surrounding community and the developing business sector in this area, operating in isolation from

the concerns and needs of groups which could become a constituency for the school. This educational facility should be operating in ways which allow it to make an impact on the immediate area. Adult learners' evening programs should be targeted for residents in the immediate neighborhood. It was contended that many persons who use this facility in the evening hours may not be Boston residents.

Minority Teachers and Apprenticeship Programs

The recruitment of vocational education teachers was another major concern raised. Despite attempts on the state level to "professionalize" the recruitment of vocational education teachers, this still remains an "old-boy" network process. This method prevents the recruitment of Black and Latino teachers, important not only for minority students but for White students as well. The recruitment of minority teachers into vocational education schools should receive much more attention than it has at this point by the educational community. "This lack of minority teachers to provide ethnic role models in schools could have terrible consequences. It may contribute to the underachievement of minority students, provide little incentive for minority students to advance in school, and

negatively affect their career and life aspirations" (Martinez, 1991).

A major discussion also took place about the apprenticeship programs managed jointly by employers and unions in Massachusetts. Concern was expressed regarding what is perceived to be resistance to the presence of Blacks in some of the unions. The low number and proportion of minorities in these apprenticeship programs were continually pointed to as evidence of this resistance. Various persons and union officials rejected this as invalid; they pointed out that this perceived resistance was only that, a perception, and did not reflect the sincerity of union efforts to recruit people of color.

This discussion produced some policy suggestions of national importance. One is that there may be an important "common grounds" between unions and minority communities which until now could not be described as having a good record--despite intentions--on affirmative action and presence of minority populations. There was general agreement that the current labor context in Massachusetts and the demography of this region may represent a golden opportunity for unions and minority communities to work closely together on these issues.

In this connection, Robert Reich, a Harvard Law Professor who writes a great deal about America's role in the world economy, states that apprenticeship programs are

important, "not only for educational and economic reasons, but as a central part of a strategy we desperately need to bring our people together to move forward into the 21st century" (Clinton, 1991). Furthermore, Governor Bill Clinton of Arkansas believes that apprenticeship is a cure for what ails education. He states, "If we don't adopt the apprenticeship idea, we'll go into decline at the very time our ideals of democracy, independence, and market economies are on the rise around the world. If we do it, I am convinced that with a much more diverse, pluralistic, entrepreneurial economy that our friends in Europe and Asia have we Americans can still be a world-class economic and political power. It all depends on our ability to develop our people" (Clinton, 1991).

The other realization which emerged from this discussion is that representatives of minority communities and educators might be able to assist unions who are sincere in recruiting minorities. Educators and others in Black communities might also be able to make useful technical and programmatic suggestions to those union officials and employers interested in effectively recruiting people of color.

Expanding Vocational Education to
New Sectors Among Minorities

Another area of concern raised by several people was the relative lack of attention regarding the importance of vocational education for minority population groups other than young people in secondary schools. There may be many incarcerated youth who should be introduced to quality vocational educational opportunities. Enabling them to participate in such programs would not only be an effective rehabilitative resource, but would represent enormous gain for the communities where these youths return to live and work. It was also pointed out that high school dropouts should have opportunities in vocational education if they are not able to persist, survive, or be successful in the more traditional curriculum of public secondary schools.

Participants also suggested encouraging a more practical approach to adult education, noting that ancillary services for various populations in Black and Latino communities are necessary in order to make vocational education accessible. This might include planning for day care services and facilities in the expansion of vocational education opportunities for minority populations.

People were generally supportive of the suggestion that if vocational education is to be expanded, the target populations should include women of color, incarcerated individuals, high school dropouts, and adult learners. But

a germane complaint heard throughout the discussions and meetings was that some of these target groups do not have an adequate level of basic academic skills. It was agreed that this problem should be confronted and tied into vocational education opportunities. The current links between literacy, basic academic skills programs, and vocational education opportunities are weak. This should not be the case. A few comments suggested that opportunities for these sectors to pursue vocational education should be expanded with special efforts and programs. This problem is borne out in statistics that measure literacy rates in America. "Twenty-seven million persons, or one in five, cannot read or write well enough to fulfill the minimum requirements of everyday life or work. Another 45 million are only marginally competent in basic skills. One of every eight employees reads at no more than the fourth grade level, and one of five at the eighth grade level" (Knell, 1990).

Explored briefly was the possibility of providing vocational education opportunities directly to residents of the various public housing authorities in Massachusetts. It was felt that this would represent a direct way of assisting in the employment of a group which tends to have higher unemployment rates than others. Part of this particular discussion also touched upon the role that unions could perform in helping to alleviate

unemployment for public housing residents. At the same time, unions would thereby assist in the revitalization of a community.

Two major issues related involved community colleges. One was the importance of community colleges in providing vocational education opportunities to a broad array of citizens. The other was the role that community colleges should be performing in articulating the importance of vocational and technical education to other institutions of higher education. Some people felt that too many educators at four-year institutions are not aware of the preparation received by students in some vocational education programs; and in too many instances, educational leaders approach vocational education as less important than more academic programs. Nationally, many community college leaders have been insisting that secondary schools and their institutions work together on joint programs (Grubb, 1991). In The Neglected Majority, Dale Parnell argues strongly that a close linkage between secondary and postsecondary curricula would promote structure and direction to educational programs used by the numerous high school students who do not participate in either college or vocational tracks (Hull, 1991). The new Vocational Technical Education Law provides a special funding category to boost such links.

C H A P T E R V

MINORITY GROUPS' PERCEPTIONS OF VOCATIONAL
EDUCATION AND ITS IMPACT, SUMMARY
AND RECOMMENDATIONSMinority Groups' Perceptions of Vocational
Education and Its ImpactAdvertising Vocational Education

The minority families participating in this study were generally disappointed with the poor advertisement of vocational education in Massachusetts' schools. Some participants expressed concern that career opportunities linked to vocational education and representing decent living wages were not being highlighted in many schools. There was major concern that this kind of information is generally not available in public schools. Perhaps the recruitment of minority youngsters into vocational education programs could be improved if public school teachers and guidance counselors were more familiar with vocational education opportunities in various career areas. Many guidance counselors may not be aware of the importance of vocational education today; and in the near future. "Modern vocational education can provide the skills necessary to create a broad Black middle class" (Young, 1991).

Much concern was expressed regarding the messages that public school teachers may be giving to high school students

regarding vocational education. One respondent pointed out that her child, upon expressing some interest in vocational education training, was reprimanded by his counselor:

"Make up your mind, you're either going to work with your head or your hands." Teachers and guidance counselors, as well as administrators in public schools, may be reflecting an unfounded elitist attitude towards vocational education; but teachers must be better prepared with accurate information about vocational education programs and opportunities as part of any effort to enhance the presence of Black youth in vocational education programs. A need identified in these discussions was for a comprehensive orientation to vocational education targeting teachers and counselors--not merely more career workshops or assessment activities. This idea was supported by many of the participants.

As mentioned earlier, there is great concern regarding the stereotyping of vocational education in Black communities. There exists a perception among too many individuals in these communities that vocational educational programs and schools are merely "dumping grounds" for students with learning or discipline problems. In Boston, such stereotyping is encouraged, in effect, by the division between a Boston technical school, requiring an exam for admission, and a vocational education high school, such as the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center. In most other areas, the term "technical" is part of the description

of vocational education. It was acknowledged that much of this stereotyping is the fault of faculty in higher education, who, without understanding the pedagogy of vocational education, have dismissed it as not as important as traditional education. In addition to the problem of perceived quality discussed earlier, this stereotyping is also encouraged because there are relatively few places where Black students and Black parents can obtain accurate information about vocational education. Although several participants pointed out that this is an impression which may be historically deserved, most agreed that getting accurate information and facts about vocational educational opportunities, and its pedagogy, would be very important in enhancing the presence of minorities in vocational education. There do not seem to be enough mechanisms to provide information about opportunities in an outreach format. That is, the information is available at schools, and other places; but unless parents and youth specifically know about how and where to get this kind of information, it generally remains unavailable to them.

Several participants noted that there was not enough information about the presence of Latino and Asian-descent youth in vocational education. It was suggested that obtaining information about the experiences of these two groups, in particular, and the attitudes that might be prevalent in these two communities is very important.

"With the ever-shrinking labor pool available to high-tech companies, Asian refugees are sought-after employees. Many area firms say they make up a larger percentage of their workers. These companies are quick to point out that it is not a case of cheap labor. Immigrants are paid the same as American counterparts. The companies say the Asian workers quickly learn technical concepts and are dedicated employees" (Tucker, 1988).

It was also felt by some participants that better information and analysis about the ways in which minority youngsters actually make career decisions would be an important tool in developing outreach activities. A few speakers felt that if the innovative nature of the pedagogy of vocational education is made known to Black leaders and parents, there would be greater interest expressed in vocational education. These pedagogical innovations, and creative ways of teaching in vocational education, may be an effective tool in motivating learning and the thirst for knowledge among those students who have been "turned off" by the traditional approaches in public schools. A creative and comprehensive informational campaign, not confined by usual bureaucratic activities on the part of vocational education schools, may be an important way of both challenging stereotyping about vocational education and responding effectively to the underutilization of vocational education facilities and programs by Black students.

Better information about the potential of vocational education for decent-wage paying careers would also help with the problem of sexual segregation in vocational education. Not enough Black and Hispanic women are aware of the opportunities available to them as a result of vocational education. There seems to be a sense--erroneous, of course--that certain vocational education programs are only for young men. Accurate information about opportunities should be targeted in ways which would be effective in reaching young women, and Black and Latino parents.

Finally, there is a general public notion that vocational education at the secondary school level is contradictory with the pursuit of a college degree. However, educational experts around the country take issue with this notion. There is research suggesting that vocational education programs may be more academically rigorous, in some ways, than more traditional college-preparatory curricula.

Enhancing Impact of Vocational Education: Networking

It was clear that an overwhelming majority of the participants felt that if the various obstacles to an increased presence of Blacks and Latinos in vocational education were to be overcome, then a strong coalition of educators--parents and other concerned citizens--would need to be developed. Three major speakers with experience with vocational education programs which have served people of

color successfully all emphasized this point. In fact, this was a major theme of the presentation of the Deputy Superintendent for Vocational Education Programs from the State of Maryland, Dr. Addison Hobbs. The former mayor of Berkeley, California, Gus Newport, also reiterated this theme strongly based on his experience with vocational education and minorities in that city, as well as in Rochester, New York, and in Puerto Rico.

The President of the National Association for the Advancement of Blacks in Vocational Education, Dr. Ethel O. Washington, expressed major concern about this not only to project staff but also to the Governor of Massachusetts, as well. She urged the building of systematic communications and networking among Black vocational education personnel within the state, but also of such activities with Black vocational education personnel in other parts of the country. The organization has been in existence since 1977 and is committed to the promotion of greater participation by Black Americans in all elements of Vocational Technical Education. It hopes to "formulate a National Agenda for Minorities in Vocational Education" (Friedemann, 1991).

Some participants pointed out that the forums sponsored by this project probably represent the first time in recent Massachusetts history that interested parties, as well as minority educators and leaders, were brought

together specifically to discuss comprehensively how Black presence in vocational education might be enhanced. In this connection, it was contemplated that future networking should also involve Black elected officials. This sector was perceived as especially significant, if it chose to exercise collective leadership in this area. Networking should bring closer together Black elected officials and Black vocational education professionals.

But many also pointed out that the networking should be broad, since there is much overlap in the issues facing vocational education personnel and teachers and educators in non-vocational education settings. Networking activities should bring these sectors together, rather than proceeding in a way which would reflect separating vocational education from other educational issues facing Black peoples. Many participants opined that unless there is an increase in the level and quality of networking and coalition-building of individuals and groups interested in vocational education, issues such as access and accountability will not be resolved in favor of the interests of Black youth. This is not necessarily an indictment against the vocational education schools, unions or government; it is rather a realization that in the competition for state resources, and the particular utilization of such resources, those groups who can be heard will have an advantage over those groups who are not heard.

A few persons expressed the opinion that only if the Black and Latino leadership, including vocational education professionals, organize themselves in this area, the "golden opportunity" for minorities will not be realized. And instead of opportunity, minorities will again be short-changed. This sentiment was expressed at a time when several persons alluded to possible deals and arrangements between the Governor's Office and unions across the country to import workers in order to meet the labor shortage in Massachusetts. People felt that if networking activities are successful in developing and supporting an agenda for Blacks in vocational education, then the importing of workers from outside of Massachusetts will not take place until the needs of minority communities in this state are satisfied.

Enhancing Impact of Vocational Education:
Backing Accountability

Several speakers and participants remarked about the absence of strong and consistent advocacy from minority communities regarding some of the issues discussed and impacting negatively on these communities. It was unanimously agreed that minority communities must raise a strong voice about issues of access and quality; if there is an absence of effective advocacy of minority interests in the area of vocational education, then accountability to these communities will not be strong.

Many participants felt that Black and Latino educators and civic leaders were not being included, in sufficient numbers and in meaningful ways, in important policy-making arenas that impact on vocational education. In order to develop the accountability mechanisms necessary to ensure that vocational education programs and opportunities are used effectively, minorities must be an integral part of the adoption and implementation of vocational education policies. Towards the end of each of the formal sessions in Boston, Lawrence, and Springfield, participants stated that follow-up to these meetings would be important not only because of the significance of this topic but also because there is a need to begin to hold public officials accountable for addressing issues and problems cited in the meetings.

It was reported by some that the history of vocational education programs in Black communities has generally been a negative one. Many vocational education programs in these communities have been utilized as a "dumping ground," and vocational educational programs and schools have not been effective in motivating learning and preparing youth for work. How to prevent vocational education programs from being utilized as ways to "track" minority students was a major concern under the topic of accountability. Some speakers reported concern regarding the Boston jobs residency requirements: Would they be retracted? This

would represent a major setback for accountability of vocational education programs and the well-being of minority communities.

The need for additional research examining the effectiveness of various vocational education programs and approaches in terms of its effects on minority youth was cited. Discussion suggested that this kind of information was needed by Black elected officials, parents, and educators, as a first step towards accountability. One person pointed out that this information is already available, whereupon the response was that it then should be shared and discussed widely, in order that the implications for changes in policy or practice can be implemented. Some basic concerns for formulating an agenda to address the issue of Black participation in vocational-technical education include changing the general population's views of the role vocational education can play in school to work transition.

The absence of a community-based lobbying group to advocate for Black interests in vocational education was cited. It was noted that such a group might also be important in the general area of accountability. The lack of involvement of major community-based organizations in this area was criticized. Although it is understandable that community agencies are under many different kinds of pressures, and cannot take up all the necessary agendas of

Black communities, there should still be some degree of involvement. Two points were made in this discussion. First, community-based agencies may not be aware of the potential of formal vocational education programs as both an employment and pedagogical tool. Second, community-based agencies could play a major role in holding accountable those sectors responsible for preparing Black populations for work, or for providing vocational education programs to these youth. A suggestion was offered for the creation of strong advisory committees in various areas which would play advocacy roles for the interests of Black youth.

The governance structure of vocational education schools was another factor related to the question of accountability and quality in these schools. It was pointed out, for example, that the governance of the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center does not involve a separate school committee as is the case with the twenty-seven regionally-based vocational education schools throughout Massachusetts. Earlier, the Boston Employment Commission submitted a report that suggested a different governance structure for vocational education programs through the creation of a separate authority for Boston, or a merger with vocational programs in neighboring cities and towns. This may be a factor in some of the perceived problems associated with the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center, because it means that at times

vocational education goals and resources are sacrificed to other school system priorities. The separate school committees for regional or city-based vocational education schools, for example, may not have to choose between expenditures for pre-school versus vocational education activities, as may be the case with the Boston School Committee.

Some speakers were concerned about what they perceived as an apparent lack of sensitivity or response to issues raised by community representatives in these meetings. Specific questions here included:

- How can the Governor's staff be held accountable to the concerns of minority groups regarding employment opportunities in the construction trades?
- How can the unions be made more responsive, and perhaps more flexible, regarding entrance requirements for apprenticeship programs?
- How can vocational educational programs be encouraged to deliver the highest level of quality instruction and services for all students, but especially in minority communities?

The comments of several participants generated strong debate regarding these questions.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) recently introduced the Rewards for Results Act of 1991. The legislation (H.R. 2974) specifies criteria for achieving important aspects of the national education goals-- readiness to start school and excellence in student performance. The legislation provides federal funds for measurable improvements in the health and educational status as students (Lovejoy, 1991).

Some debates revolved around whether the corporate community or the unions, or vocational education schools, such as Boston's Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center, were sensitive to the concerns of minority citizens. While some participants expressed great concern regarding the insensitivity they perceived on the part of these sectors, others challenged these perceptions, arguing that they were based on misinformation and not understanding the complexity of the goal of enhancing a minority presence in a vocational education school or program, or in union-based apprenticeship programs. Interestingly, though the discussion grew heated at times, most viewpoints eventually converged regarding the need for accountability to the needs and concerns of minority citizens. The various mechanisms which might be available for political and community accountability were considered critical by some for ensuring effective and quality vocational education opportunities for Black youth. A first step in

accountability, as suggested by one participant, is the offering of testimony to the State Legislature regarding these issues. A report on the state of legislation, and how and why such might be improved, might be presented to key legislators and caucuses, such as the Massachusetts Black Legislative Caucus. The Deputy Superintendent of Vocational Education of Maryland suggested exploring alternative ways of providing vocational education as a way of ensuring accountability to minority communities.

Another area of concern was the racial composition of the teaching profession in vocational education. It was raised as a query whether the fact that the teaching profession in vocational education is lily-white could be adversely affecting Black students. Nationally, the racial composition of beginning vocational education teachers is 7.4 percent for Blacks, 2.0 percent for Hispanics, 1.7 percent for Others, and 88.9 percent for Whites (Heath-Camp & Camp, 1991).

The reasoning was that these students do not have enough role models among vocational education teachers, and that the attitudes of teachers may not be as supportive as in a context where the teachers and students share a common racial or ethnic background. Some participants raised questions about how teachers in vocational education or apprenticeship training programs are identified and recruited, and how such recruitment might be improved in

order to have a positive impact on minority youth in terms of teacher attitudes and role models. Utilizing "old boy" approaches to recruit vocational education teachers was perceived as having negative consequences for enhancing a minority presence in vocational education.

Other participants felt that guidance counselors and teachers in the public school system must be educated about the potential of vocational education. Guidance counselors were viewed as a potentially critical and important source of information; but as a group, they must be made more sensitive and responsive to the needs of minority youth and how vocational education could respond to those needs. This discussion led to the role that school boards and committees could perform in this area. A majority of the participants perceived that in Boston the School Department or School Committee pays inadequate attention to vocational education. One person used the phrase "second-class citizenship" to describe the attitude of certain school administrators--and School Committee officials--towards vocational education. Many felt that accountability for quality programs could not be achieved if vocational education were not prioritized by the School Department leadership and the School Committee in Boston. Generally speaking, there was more praise for the relationship between local government, school boards, and vocational education programs in places outside of Boston.

Questions were also raised about the kind of training minorities participating in vocational education programs were actually receiving. Much focus was directed at the situation in Boston due to the explosion of construction-related jobs. Some individuals suggested that the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center may not be preparing an adequate number of minority youth for this kind of opportunity in the city. "In particular, city employment and training officials are hoping to train residents for the thousands of jobs expected to be created through the \$10 billion worth of public works projects now planned for the city, including the building of a third harbor tunnel and the depression of the Central Artery" (Rezendes, 1990). Minority youth in vocational education should be directed towards trades which would put them in a marketable position for years in this area. The "tracking" of minority students into vocational education opportunities that may not be the most fruitful in terms of higher demand or higher-paying occupations could result from self-selection, or the lack of monitoring of the choices of minorities interested in vocational education careers.

A few individuals also expressed concern about proprietary schools and private-sector programs which attract minorities pursuing vocational education. One individual suggested that such programs should be carefully monitored by the State Department of Education to ensure that

no one, in particular Blacks, is exploited by these efforts.

Summary

Many participants felt that in Boston vocational education has been treated as a sort of stepchild in terms of respectable pedagogy. It was generally expressed, however, that there is not a philosophical or programmatic contradiction between vocational education and the kind of intellectual preparation which is presumably part of a liberal arts education. This idea was continually emphasized by vocational education administrators in Lawrence, Springfield, and other places outside Boston and to be a major selling point among vocational education administrators outside Boston. Vocational education can be approached as both a program of the practical arts as well as the liberal arts.

A model project that links school to work is the Boston Private Industry Council Project Protech (Vocational Education Journal, 1991, March). This is "a four-year program that connects the last two years of high school and two years of community college, after which students are employed full-time, for example, in a hospital setting where they also receive academic and vocational education. Successful participants receive an associate degree and a

certified professional credential within the health care field" (Vocational Education Journal, 1991, March). In this connection, we note the Perkins Act gives vocational education a challenge to reform its programs so it can reshape its role in employment preparation using Perkins funds. The funds require spending on programs that integrate academic and vocational education, so as to promote both academic and occupational competence among students.

In this connection, several persons pointed out that the debate between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois, at the turn of the century, is no longer valid. While Booker T. Washington called for Blacks to be prepared and trained for manual arts, W. E. B. DuBois urged the development of a talented tenth schooled in the classical arts and committed to providing leadership for the Black community in this country. As many participants pointed out, today's vocational education could be used in ways which would inculcate the kinds of intellectual skills and insights in students of vocational education which may be part of a traditional liberal arts curriculum.

Much excitement was expressed throughout these meetings regarding the response of vocational education curricula and pedagogical approaches to the high dropout rates of Blacks from public secondary schooling. Several participants identified ways in which vocational education may represent a relatively inexpensive innovation for

having a positive impact on not only the dropout rates of young Black students but also on increasing the level of motivation for learning. These observations were based on the experiences of speakers as teachers, administrators, and former vocational education students, but also on a growing research and evaluation literature which indicate some very interesting findings on this matter.

Nonetheless, some participants expressed dissatisfaction with what they saw as a conceptual separation between academic programs and vocational education in Massachusetts. It was pointed out that vocational education programs could be more academically rigorous and innovative. A student in vocational education can receive preparation for college which is competitive with that received by a student in the more traditional college preparatory programs. Students in some vocational education programs, for example, are introduced to advanced levels of the hard sciences, such as physics and chemistry, and engineering. It was a general assessment in all the meetings that a student in vocational education is not, ipso facto, denied the benefits of a more pure academic curriculum.

In order to strengthen this outcome, it was observed that three out of four jobs in today's market require some education or technical training beyond the high school level. So the answer may be tech prep, a relatively new educational concept that prepares people for technical

careers by linking high school studies with community college coursework. Tech prep received major emphasis in the recently re-authorized Perkins Act; and Congress last year appointed some \$125 million to fund tech prep programs (Wilcox, 1991).

Based on a growing literature on vocational education as effective pedagogy, some participants suggested that vocational education learning processes may be a way of both keeping more youth in formal schooling as well as serving and preparing those youth who have dropped out of formal schooling processes. One concrete suggestion offered in this area was the exploration of program development which would offer vocational education to youth indicating an indication to leave a traditional academic program, or to those who have recently dropped out, "such as the unique offering of Vocational Foundation Inc., a 57-year-old institution in New York City that helps troubled youths by teaching skills that turn 70 percent of them into wage earners within a few months. Each year, it places 1,500 youths in the building or engineering trades or in the clerical field. The program is a low-cost effort financed by government contracts and foundation gifts. The program is also cost effective. Maintaining a New York City youth in a correctional institution costs about \$70,000 a year, while the program cost of training a youth is \$4,000, including an average

weekly stipend of \$100 while in training" (Teltsch, 1989).

This might involve an outreach effort inviting recent dropouts to re-enroll into a vocational education program. But efforts should also be explored to reach the adult learner who may not have been successful in completing a certain level of formal education. This latter point was raised by several persons working with adults in various community agency settings. It was noted that:

- Dropout rates are higher for Blacks and Hispanics than for Whites. However, the majority of dropouts are Whites. For example, the cohort dropout rates for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics were 15, 22, and 28 respectively. Nevertheless, Whites accounted for 66 percent of all dropouts.
- Dropout rates for males tend to be higher than those for females, e.g., status rates of 13.5 percent and 12.2 percent respectively.
- Males and Blacks tend to take longer than females and Whites to complete high school. Higher proportions of males and Blacks are still enrolled in school below the college level at ages 18 and 19.

Recommendations

The following general recommendations are based on the concerns and suggestions of the participants of activities involved in this study. While these recommendations could be implemented in various areas across Massachusetts, they were developed primarily as a result of the major criticisms lodged against the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center in Boston. Participants expressed so much concern for the perceived poor quality of vocational education in Boston, and the inaccessibility of vocational education for minority youth, that this researcher was virtually forced to develop recommendations that focus somewhat specifically on the situation with vocational education in Boston.

The purpose of these recommendations is to show what kinds of activities might be planned and implemented by various organizations to respond to concerns described earlier. While not exhaustive, this list of recommendations is quite extensive. They illustrate the broad range of concrete steps that can be initiated in order to generate an increase in the presence of minorities in vocational education in Massachusetts, but also to begin to reverse what many perceive to be a deteriorating quality of education at the Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center.

It should be noted that the implementation of these recommendations does not require the creation or expansion of any bureaucracy. As reported at a meeting of the Education Committee of the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce on May 17, 1988, the discussions sponsored through this Project suggest that the critical elements in enhancing the presence of minority groups in vocational education and improving the quality of vocational education in Boston involves (a) revamping the use of current resources, (b) offering information and support to groups who provide advocacy for the interests of the minority community, and (c) developing more effective accountability mechanisms for the quality of vocational education in Boston.

The following recommendations are offered in response to the concerns voiced in conference and focus groups:

- Develop a series of community-based career workshops regarding opportunities in vocational education for youth and adult learners. Use community-based agencies to identify and outreach to participants; representatives of vocational education programs should participate as resource agents.
- Target community-based agencies serving bilingual populations and women of color to provide information and workshops

regarding opportunities in vocational education. This would also include the development of workshops for incarcerated populations.

- Sponsor a workshop for Black elected officials regarding major issues and questions of access into vocational education, as well as providing information regarding opportunities in vocational education. Provide information about the Carl D. Perkins Act of 1991 and how it is implemented at the state level.
- Encourage a series of meetings among interested persons to identify strategies that unions could utilize to recruit effectively people of color into apprenticeship programs.
- Publish widely disseminated articles or news releases about several success stories related to vocational education. This could be a series of public service bulletins or participation on a radio or television program to discuss these success stories. The focus would be on minority youth.
- Sponsor several trips of Black civic leaders and opinion leaders, and parents of vocational

education facilities across Massachusetts so that they may witness the kind of education which occurs at these schools. Sponsor a forum to develop models and to study how collaborative relationships between vocational education programs at the secondary level and postsecondary institutions can be strengthened or started in order to increase minority enrollments in both sectors.

- Establish a one-time clearinghouse service, based in a community agency or university, which would collect information directly or indirectly related to the presence of minorities in vocational education. Such a service would provide two or three periodic reports in the next year. Information would be collected not only for this region, but across the country. This information would be analyzed and disseminated to the Massachusetts vocational education community, as well as to other sectors.
- Develop a workshop to assess the strategies which could be utilized to recruit Black vocational education teachers.
- Develop a recruitment and informational video in English and Spanish of successful

minority students in vocational education; distribute this video; and sponsor a workshop for community-based agencies in Black neighborhoods.

- Develop a media campaign using posters for buses and T-stations supporting the idea of vocational education for minorities and others; develop public interest spots for radio and television stations, perhaps highlighting successful minority students in vocational education.
- Sponsor a meeting of Black vocational education personnel in Massachusetts to meet representatives of the National Association for the Advancement of Blacks in Vocational Education (NAABVE) and representatives of the State Department of Education; assist in sponsoring a regional or national conference meeting of NAABVE in Massachusetts; assist in developing an advocacy network of Black educators and interested vocational education.
- Explore the possibility of an advisory committee to assist vocational education schools requesting such assistance to investigate and plan ways of recruiting and maintaining a satisfactory level of minority youth

attendance. Such an advisory committee would report to the headmaster of a particular school and the State Department of Education.

- Sponsor a "Leadership and Professional Development" workshop for minority educators and community activists, vocational education personnel, and members of vocational education programs advisory committees focusing on how vocational education could more effectively attract potential minority faculty, as well as minority youth and parents. A joint effort among these groups would be to determine how vocational education can be a public policy "glue" tying together educational, social and economic concerns.
- Develop a series of workshops for public school counselors at all levels to provide training regarding the potential pedagogical employment potential of vocational education.
- Inform current advisory committees for vocational education schools and programs of the findings of this study; develop mechanisms to strengthen the advisory committees in light of the findings of this study.

- Commission a critique of the literature of the various evaluations of vocational education in Massachusetts, and at particular schools and programs, regarding the presence of minority youth and present at a public service forum for educators and civic leaders.
- Conduct a survey of minority youth who have participated in vocational education programs successfully in various settings in order to determine their experiences with teachers, the program, and the school.
- Investigate how methods used effectively in vocational education may be applied to traditional academic settings, specifically, developing and proposing experimental models of teaching in some academic settings or even an entire high school which uses students working together on projects, allowing extended blocks of time to one single, but comprehensive, task, and using teachers as team-leaders in the supervision of these tasks.
- Examine mechanisms for linking together effectively adult literacy programs and vocational education opportunities.

Further, the researcher presents the following strategies and recommendations. If implemented effectively, these recommendations could lay the foundation necessary to guarantee a significant presence of Blacks in vocational technical education in Massachusetts.

- Interview and survey, individually and in group meetings, Black elected officials in Boston to assess the kinds of structural, programmatic, and legislative suggestions they would make to improve vocational education in Boston. Objective: To develop, with the support of Black elected officials, legislative and programmatic strategies which may improve the quality of vocational education in Boston and enhance the presence of minority youth in vocational education programs. Results: At the completion of this activity, the State Department of Education will be provided with a report describing the strategies and initiatives preferred by Black elected officials regarding minorities and vocational education.
- Plan and implement a conference of minority vocational education personnel in the New England region, and including the National Association for the Advancement of Blacks

in Vocational Education. Objective: To provide a forum for personnel in vocational education regarding the experiences of minorities in vocational education.

Results: The publication of the Conference Proceedings on Minorities in Vocational Education in New England, covering the various presentations and papers on related issues and topics, and exchange this information with relevant groups and organizations.

- Develop a mobile career training workshop for executives and personnel working with clients in community-based organizations in Black communities. This workshop would be developed in such a way that it could be transported from one agency to another in these communities. Objective: To make community-based agencies in Black communities aware of the major issues relevant to minorities and vocational education, to sensitize such agencies to the opportunities available, and to enlist the support of community-based agencies in the recruitment of minority youth and adults. Results: An increase in expressed interest in vocational

education opportunities on the part of Black and Latino citizens.

- Offer a workshop to introduce and inform Boston public school counselors of opportunities for minorities in vocational education programs; develop mechanisms to assist public school counselors to identify potential students for admission into vocational education programs. Objective: To provide accurate and complete information regarding opportunities for minorities in vocational education to public school counselors, and to encourage this group to see this as a way of making them more effective professionals. Results: Greater number of inquiries regarding vocational education opportunities on the part of minority youth in Boston public schools, and increase the availability of accurate information about vocational education in public schools.
- Develop a proposal for a television program focusing on the minority experience in vocational education. This program would primarily have a Black audience. Objective: To make the Black community more aware of some of the major public issues facing

Blacks in Massachusetts regarding vocational education. Results: Greater level of public awareness regarding some of the issues relevant to minorities and vocational education in Boston.

The researcher believes that if some of these strategies and recommendations are adopted and implemented effectively, there may be a significant increase in the acknowledgment of the importance of vocational education in Black communities, as well as an increase in the number of minority youth expressing interest in vocational education. This will lead to an important development: a closer look at the quality of education being offered in various vocational education schools and programs by minority educators and civic leaders. The pressure for quality in vocational education will be very great in Black communities; this means that educators and civic leaders and parents will begin to ask more and harder questions regarding decisionmaking, allocation and use of resources, and the quality and profile of the teaching profession in vocational education in Boston, and throughout Massachusetts.

An important expectation to be noted here, based on what some union officials have stated about vocational education and Blacks, is that the union community wants to cooperate very much with minority leaders and parents who

are seeking to make vocational education work for their youth.

This study began with the theme that vocational education can be a creative and exciting "public policy glue" tying together demography, economic needs of Massachusetts, and the educational needs of Black communities. It raised the awareness of the importance of vocational education in minority communities through various forums and meetings; and it brought together a network of individuals and organizations which could be the basis of renewed interest and attention to the role that vocational education can play in the economic development of minority communities, and in the improvement of the quality and relevance of education in these communities. And finally, the study resulted in several concrete strategies and recommendations which, if implemented effectively, could lay the foundation necessary to guarantee a significant presence of Blacks in the world of vocational education in Massachusetts.

The state has a major opportunity to propose a model of public policy which is effective and inclusive, and ties the needs and resources of various population groups and sectors to each other in complementary ways. Vocational education, if given more attention, could be an important key to this optimistic scenario; but this opportunity will quickly be lost if communities of color do

not play a significant role in the development of such potential opportunity. This researcher hopes that this study will represent an important step in ensuring that all the citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts understand the crucial significance of this proposition.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF ARTICLES RELATED TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
PUBLISHED IN THE BOSTON GLOBE (1980-1987)

LIST OF ARTICLES RELATED TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
PUBLISHED IN THE BOSTON GLOBE (1980-1987)

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| December 26, 1979: | "Job School: Can It Open on Schedule?" |
| June 2, 1980: | "Remaking Occupational Education" |
| June 12, 1980: | "'Last Chance' School for Indians Closing" |
| June 15, 1980: | "Voke Training Labeled a Failure" |
| July 6, 1980: | "Voke School Study Challenged" |
| July 11, 1980: | "School Panel Agrees to Teacher Transfers" |
| September 7, 1980: | "ORC Looked Upon as Flagship of a Reviving School System" |
| September 7, 1980: | "Hopes, Fears Pinned on ORC Opening" |
| September 30, 1980: | "Help Wanted, Help Needed" |
| May 25, 1981: | "New Vocational Education Alert to Workplace Changes" |
| September 30, 1981: | "\$35m Less for Mass. Education Seen Under Reagan Cut" |
| October 7, 1981: | "U.S. Says State Mishandled \$8m in School Funds, Calls for Refund" |
| December 8, 1981: | "Deeper Education Cuts Planned?" |
| March 3, 1982: | "House GOP Balks at Education Cuts" |
| April 4, 1982: | "There's Something to Be Learned From Firms Fostering Career Development" |
| September 20, 1982: | "Vt. Education Department" |
| November 26, 1982: | "17 Districts Seek \$8m in Overdue School Funds" |
| June 26, 1983: | "City and School Cooperate in Vocational Ed Program" |

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| June 29, 1983: | "Boston Schools: A Mixed Report" |
| September 14, 1983: | "House Votes to Add \$1.6b for 1984" |
| November 27, 1983: | "Scituate Special Ed Director Named Teacher of the Year" |
| January 1, 1984: | "Director Named in N.H. for Vocational Education" |
| January 8, 1984: | "Vocational Training (The Old Saws Don't Apply Anymore)" |
| June 23, 1984: | "Program for Hispanics Faces Uncertain Future" |
| January 16, 1985: | "Aid for Displaced Homemakers" |
| May 5, 1985: | "Spillane: It's Time for Boston to Rethink Vocational Education" |
| June 30, 1985: | "Report Assails Vermont's Job Training Program" |
| August 29, 1985: | "State Board Files Integration Plan for Vocational Education" |
| September 4, 1985: | "On Vocational Education" |
| September 29, 1985: | "New Vocational School Panel Ignites a Mass. Rivalry Again" |
| October 27, 1985: | "State's Vocational Education Programs Reflex Nation's" |
| January 26, 1986: | "'Voke Ed' Schools Face Competition" |
| May 11, 1986: | "Writing About Their Specialty (Vocational Education Students Keep Shop Journal)" |
| May 21, 1986: | "N.H. Course Trains Women Tech Teachers" |
| May 21, 1986: | "School Board Merges Madison and Humphrey" |
| June 14, 1986: | "Worcester Job Agencies Pool Their Resources" |

June 11, 1987: "Humphrey Center Provides Job Opportunities"

March 29, 1987: "Electrical Contracting Industry Offers Scholarships for Vocational Pupils"

APPENDIX B

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Doris Bunte | Administrator of the Boston Housing Authority |
| Judy Burnette | Strategic Planning Project, Southwest Corridor |
| Nancy Caruso | Cooperative Education, Northeastern University |
| Nelson Colon | Director, Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation |
| William Fletcher | District 65, United Auto Workers |
| Herberto Flores | New England Farm Workers Council |
| James Fraser | University of Massachusetts at Boston |
| Luis Fuentes | University of Massachusetts at Amherst |
| Louis Gleason | Superintendent, Greater Lawrence Vocational Technical School |
| Jim Green | State Council on Vocational Education |
| Willet Johnson | English Teacher, Springfield Central High School |
| Raymond Jordan | State Representative, Springfield (Massachusetts) |
| Yvonne King | Women's Educational Industrial Union |
| Jean McGuire | School Committee Member-at-Large, Boston, and Director of the METCO Program |
| Modesto Maldonado | Bilingual Vocational Coordinator, Greater Lawrence Vocational Technical School |
| Edwin Melendez | Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| Mary Mitchner | Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce |

Millie Rivas

Jose Gandara Mental Health Center

Charles Souris

University of Massachusetts at Boston

Chuck Turner

Center for Community Action, Inc.

APPENDIX C

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Action for Boston Community Development
ADAPT, Inc.
Alianza Hispana
Black Educators Alliance of Massachusetts
Board of Education, Washington, D. C.
Board of Regents of Higher Education
Boston Building Trades Council
Boston City Hospital
Boston Employment Commission
Boston Employment Resource Center
Boston Housing Authority
Boston Private Industry Council
Boston School Committee
Center for Community Action
Committee to Implement the Boston Jobs Ordinance
Contractor's Association of Boston
Dennison House
Department of Public Welfare, Employment and Training
Design Housing
Executive Office of Human Services
Federation of Black Agency Directors
Franklin Institute
Global Village Associates, Inc.

Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce

Greater Boston Regional Education Center

Greater Roxbury Development Corporation

Greater Roxbury Neighborhood Authority

Greater Springfield Regional Education Center

Hispanic Office of Planning and Evaluation

Hubert H. Humphrey Occupational Resource Center

Institute for Learning and Teaching, University of
Massachusetts at Boston

Jobs for Youth

Jose Gandara Mental Health Center

Labor Studies Program, University of Massachusetts
at Boston

Lawrence School Committee

Madison Park High School

Massachusetts Association of Vocational Administrators

Massachusetts Black Legislative Caucus

Massachusetts Department of Youth Services

Massachusetts Office of Probation

Mayor's Office of Jobs and Community Services, Boston

Mayor's Policy Office, Boston

METCO

Mission Hill Extension Tenants

National Association for the Advancement of Blacks in
Vocational Education

National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People, Boston

New England Farm Workers Council

Northeastern University, Center for Labor Market Studies

Northeastern University, Office of Continuing Education

Office of the Commissioner of Education

Office of the Mayor, Boston

Office of the President, Quincy Junior College

Office of the President, Roxbury Community College

Office of the President, Springfield Technical Community
College

Office of the President, University of Massachusetts

Office of State Representative Sandra Graham

Office of State Representative Raymond Jordan

Office of State Representative Shirley Owens-Hicks

Office of State Senator Richard Kraus

Pathfinder Vocational Technical School

Putnam Vocational Technical High School

Roxbury Comprehensive Community Services Center

Roxbury-North Dorchester Area Planning Council

SEIU Local 285

Sheet Metal Workers

Springfield Central High School

Springfield Technical Community College

State Board of Education

State Office of Vocational Education, Baltimore, Maryland

Strategic Planning Project, Southwest Corridor

United South End Settlement House

University of Massachusetts at Amherst

University of Massachusetts at Boston

Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute
of Technology

Wentworth Institute

William Monroe Trotter Institute

Women's Educational Industrial Union

Women's Technical Institute

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